

Message Text

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, EG, US, SC
SUBJECT: FAHMY ON UN RESOLUTION AND PEACE PROCESS

REF: CAIRO 16979

SUMMARY: FAHMY EXPRESSES DISAPPOINTMENT ABOUT US VOTE ON EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION. SCRANTON'S EXPLANATORY STATEMENT AND TALKING POINTS I HAD GIVEN HIM WERE NO MORE THAN EXCUSES TO JUSTIFY ACTION WHICH WE AND ISRAELIS HAD DECIDED UPON FROM OUTSET. EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION WAS MODERATE AND EVEN ISRAELI REP HERZOG DESCRIBED IT SO. NEITHER USG NOR ISRAEL REALLY WANTS GENEVA. YOUR VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR TO MOHAMED RIAD. ISRAELIS WANT TO DRAG OUT THE PEACE PROCESS FOR AT LEAST FIVE YEARS WITH SMALL WITHDRAWLS EVERY YEAR OR SO. GOE CANNOT SIGN SEPARATE AGREEMENT ON SINAI AND, AS SADAT HAS INDICATED, BELIEVES PROBLEM MUST NOW BE TACKLED AT GENEVA ON GLOBAL BASIS. I AGAIN WENT OVER WHY WE HAD VOTED AGAINST RESOLUTION. PRESENT ADMINISTRATION CANNOT COMMIT ITS SUCCESSORS. NEW ADMINISTRATION MUST BE GIVEN ADEQUATE TIME TO STUDY THE PROBLEM, CONSIDER VIABLE OPTIONS AND MAKE ITS OWN JUDGMENT ON HOW BEST TO PROCEED. END SUMMARY.

1. FAHMY ASKED ME TO CALL TODAY. HIS MAIN PURPOSE WAS TO DISCUSS AGAIN THE EGYPTIAN-SPONSORED UN RESOLUTION WHICH WE VOTED AGAINST. HE PROFESSED NOT TO BE ABLE TO
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UNDERSTAND HOW WE COULD HAVE DONE THIS. ONLY THE US AND

ISRAEL HAD TAKEN A NEGATIVE POSITION. ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-TWO STATES, INCLUDING THE WEST EUROPEANS AND "EVEN COSTA RICA, WHICH VOTES FOR ANYTHING ISRAEL," HAD FOUND THE EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION SO MODERATE THAT THEY COULD VOTE FOR IT. FOR THAT MATTER, ISRAELI REP HERZOG HAS PUBLICLY STATED THAT THE EGYPTIAN RESOLUTION WAS MODERATE. FAHMY RECALLED THAT GOE HAD DELIBERATELY AVOIDED INCLUDING ANY REFERENCE TO THE PLO -- DIRECT OR INDIRECT -- IN THE RESOLUTION. AND YET WE HAD VOTED AGAINST IT. USG IS AGAIN SLAVISHLY FOLLOWING THE ISRAELI LINE. SCRANTON'S EXPLANATORY STATEMENT WAS THIN GRUEL. LIKE THE TALKING POINTS I HAD GIVEN HIM, IT WAS NO MORE THAN AN EXCUSE TO JUSTIFY AN ACTION WHICH WE AND ISRAELIS HAD DECIDED UPON FROM THE OUTSET. THE WHOLE THING, FAHMY REITERATED, MAKES A MOCKERY OF OUR PROTESTATIONS OF FOLLOWING A "COMMON STRATEGY".

2. I TOLD FAHMY THAT I COULD NOT AGREE WITH HIM. THE FINAL VERSION OF THE UN RESOLUTION SPECIFIED A LATER MARCH RECONVENING OF GENEVA. I HAD TOLD HIM THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION CANNOT COMMIT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TO ANY SUCH DATE. MOREOVER, CONTRARY TO WHAT HE HAD TOLD ME, THE REFERENCE TO CONVENING THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAD REMAINED IN THE FINAL EGYPTIAN TEXT. AS HE KNEW FULL WELL, THE SECURITY COUNCIL CANNOT MAKE A MEANINGFUL CONTRIBUTION TO THE PEACE PROCESS. ON THE LATTER POINT, FAHMY CALIMED ABDEL MEGUID HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET ARAB AND NON-ALIGNED AGREEMENT TO EXCLUDE THE REFERENCE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. AS CONCERNS THE LATE MARCH DATE TO RECONVENE THE MEETING, FAHMY ASKED WHY WE HAD NOT SIMPLY PROPOSED AN AMENDMENT TO A LATER DATE. IT COULD HAVE BEEN APRIL OR MAY, BUT GOE NEEDS SOME EXPRESSION OF US WILLINGNESS TO GO TO GENEVA. AFTER ALL, YOU AND DOBRYNIN HAD INITIALLY ARRANGED GENEVA BEHIND EGYPT'S BACK. FURTHERMORE, IF OUR ARGUMENT THAT THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION CANNOT COMMIT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS TO HOLD, US REP SHOULD BE VOTING AGAINST ANY UN RESOLUTION THAT CALLES FOR ACTION NEXT YEAR. OUR VOTE IS DEEPLY DISTURBING TO GOE AND IS MAKING EGYPTIANS WONDER WHETHER USG REALLY HAS THE

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CAPABILITY OR WILLINGNESS TO MOVE AHEAD ON AN OVER-ALL PEACE SETTLEMENT.

4. FAHMY CONTINUED BY REITERATING HIS VIEWS THAT NEITHER USG NOR ISRAEL REALLY WANTS GENEVA. YOUR VIEWS HAD BEEN MADE QUITE CLEAR TO MOHAMED RIAD, WHO HAD BRIEFED FAHMY ON HIS TALK WITH YOU. WE AND THE ISRAELIS STILL SEEM TO HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT GOE CAN BE PERSUADED TO SIGN

A SEPARATE AGREEMENT ON SINAI. GOE, HE ARGUED, CANNOT GO IT ALONE. IT CAN CONINUE TO MOVE AHEAD ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF BALANCED WITHDRAWALS IN OTHER OCCUPIED ARAB AREAS AS WELL. THE ISRAELIS, AS IS EVIDENT FROM PERES' RECENT STATEMENTS, ALSO DO NOT WANT TO GO TO GENEVA. THEY WANT TO DRAG OUT THE PEACE PROCESS FOR AT LEAST FIVE YEARS WITH SMALL WITHDRAWALS EVERY YEAR OR SO. AS SADAT HAD POINTED OUT, THE TIME FOR INTERIM AGREEMENTS IS OVER. GOE BELIEVES THAT THE PROBLEM MUST NOW BE TACKLED ON A "GLOBAL" (READ COMPREHENSIVE) BASIS AND GENEVA, IN GOE'S VIEW, IS THE BEST FORUM FOR THIS.

5. I TOLD HIM THAT OUR INTEREST IN RESUMING THE PEACE PROCESS IN WHATEVER MANNER PROSMIES TO BE MOST EFFECTIVE CONTINUES. AS I HAD PREVIOUSLY INDICATED TO HIM THE NEW ADMINISTRATION MUST BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY THE PROBLEM, CONSIDER VIABLE OPTIONS AND MAKE ITS OWN JUDGMENT AS TO HOW IT BELIEVES THE PROCESS MAY BEST BE FURTHERED. I COULD NOT SPEAK FOR ISRAELI VIEWS, ALTHOUGH I HAD SEEN VARIOUS ISRAELI STATEMENTS. HE SHOULD KNOW, HOWEVER, THAT THE USG IS IN NO WAY BOUND TO ANY PARTICULAR ISRAELI VIEW AND THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WILL MAKE ITS OWN DECISION ON HOW TO PROCEED IN THE LIGHT OF US INTERESTS AND ITS UNDERSTANDING OF THE POSITIONS OF ALL PARTIES. WHILE HE MIGHT BE UNHAPPY ABOUT OUR PRESENT PERIOD OF HAVING TO "MARK TIME," ALL OF US HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION. HE COULD BE SURE THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WILL WANT TO BE JUST AS FAIR MINDED IN ITS APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM AS HAS BEEN THE CASE WITH THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. FAHMY SIMPLY SHRUGGES HIS SHOULDERS AND SAID, "WE ARE ALL WAITING AND WE ALL HOPE SO."

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